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ABSTRACT

The political behavior and orientations of 1027 fifth-grade students in 18 inner-city, racially segregated, low socioeconomic status elementary schools were examined in two Michigan cities in 1970. The political effects of racial composition were different for each race. As elementary schools became increasingly black, average student political orientations were reported as more nonsupportive of the political system, and political behavior was more activist. In those schools where classes were increasingly white, political orientations were more supportive, and political behavior was less activist. Students of both races in predominantly black schools knew more about political problems and candidates and were more skeptical of government and political authority than students of both races in predominantly white schools. This research shows that black, racially segregated, low socioeconomic status schools are positively beneficial for black and white students when using the criteria of participant political behavior. It may mean that the political effect of racial integration of black people is to depoliticize the black American people, which, unfortunately, for many Americans is a desirable goal. (Author/JM)

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BLACK PARTICIPANTS AND WHITE SUBJECTS:

The Relationship of Elementary School Racial Segregation to Fifth-Graders' Political Orientations and Behavior

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ABSTRACT

BLACK PARTICIPANTS AND WHITE SUBJECTS:

The Relationship of Elementary School Racial Segregation

to Fifth-Graders' Political Orientations and Behavior

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The political behavior and orientations of 1027 fifth-grade students in 18 inner-city racially segregated low socio-economic status elementary schools were examined in two Michigan cities in 1970.

The political effects of racial composition were different for each race. As elementary schools became increasingly Black, average student political orientations were reported as more non-supportive of the political system and political behavior that was more activist. In those schools where classes were increasingly White, political orientations were more supportive and less activist in political behavior. Students of both races in predominantly Black schools knew more about political problems and candidates and were more skeptical of government and political authority than students of both races in predominantly White schools.

The policy implications of this research are startling and somewhat disorienting for the author who is deeply committed to racial justice. The case for racial integration of schools becomes less obvious when one evaluates school racial mixtures in terms of student political orientations and behavior. My research shows that Black racially segregated low socio-economic status elementary schools are positively beneficial for Black and White students in terms of political orientations and behavior, if one views, as I do, participant political behavior as a desirable goal. It also shows that White segregated low socio-economic status elementary schools are harmful to White and Black students when using the criteria of participant political behavior. It may mean that the political effect of racial integration of Black people is to depoliticize the Black American people which unfortunately for many Americans is a desirable goal.

How to evaluate the impact of school racial composition?[1] What criteria to use? Educationally the criteria have student-cognitive skills measured by various academic achievement tests. Yet the question of school racial composition is ultimately a political problem. The focus is upon the schools because the people engaged in the American racial conflict viewed the schools as teaching orientations and behavior that would affect the political relationships between Black and White Americans. For it is in politics that the allocation of valuable benefits is decided for each racial group.

Essentially there are two basic political orientations and behavior that relate to the political relationship between Black and White Americans, participant and subject.

A participant would perceive the political structure and the related norms as allowing much individual involvement in the decision-making process. Rules and laws would be perceived as amenable to change and the participant would report a high sense of personal political efficacy, i.e., the belief that the individual is capable of influencing the political decision-makers. A participant would believe that the ideal political process is interaction and bargaining among equals.

A subject would perceive the political structure and the related norms as allowing little individual involvement in the decision-making process. Rules and laws would be perceived as fixed and unchanging and

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[1]My thanks to Carol Krauss, Ellis Krauss, Edward H. Brown, and Harriet Arkley for their useful comments on an earlier draft of the paper, to the Bureau for Faculty Research, Western Washington State College for secretarial support, and the U.S. Office of Education for funding the collection of the data under grant OEG-5-70-0024(509).

the subject would report a low sense of political efficacy. A subject would believe the ideal political process as interaction and obedience among superiors and subordinates.

The subject and participant orientations and behavior each has different implications for American race relations, each is a different criteria for evaluating school racial composition. Yet up to now the impact of racially segregated schools upon their students has been primarily examined in terms of student cognitive skills measured by various academic achievement tests. Most of these findings as discussed in the 1967 report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights conclude that racial segregation of the school is related to low performance by Black students on academic achievement tests. However for White students academic achievement test performance has little relationship to the degree of racial segregation in the school. The policy implications of this research was to promote the racial integration of previously segregated schools.[2] For to racially integrate a school would mean to improve the cognitive skill levels of Black students without influencing the academic performance of White students.

The 1972 report of U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity used the same criteria for evaluating school racial integration as the 1967 report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The 1972 Senate Committee report noted that racial "integration is most likely to produce achievement gains for educationally disadvantaged students when schools

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[2]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967).

contain a majority of more disadvantaged students."[3] The achievement gains cited were increases in reading, language, and arithmetic skills of the racial minority group students.[4]

Thus in 1972 the prime reason for justifying racial integration of schools was that the racial minority group students would increase their cognitive skills. Compensatory education, i.e., where racial minority group students would receive special treatment in terms of funds and curricular emphasis, was completely rejected by 1967 report of Civil Rights Commission as ineffective in terms of student academic achievement. However by 1972 the Senate Committee Report concluded regarding compensatory education that in those cases where racial integration was impossible then there must be more support for, "effective compensatory education services."[5] But it was also noted that, "the evidence appears to be that a dollar spent on compensatory education is far more likely to produce results in a quality integrated setting."[6] In 1972 the policy preferences were still that integrated schools would lead to the greatest gain in minority group student cognitive skills.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision which declared racially segregated schools to be unconstitutional did not emphasize lower achievement test scores of Black students as the prime reason why segregated schools were

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[3]U.S. Congress, Senate, Toward Equal Educational Opportunity--The Report of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, S. Rept. 92-000, 92d Cong., 2d sess., 1972, p. 31.

[4]Ibid., chp. 16.

[5]Ibid., p. 230.

[6]Ibid.

"inherently unequal."[7] Rather Chief Justice Earl Warren argued that since education was necessary for any child "to succeed in life"[8] and that schools segregated with the sanction of law created a "sense of inferiority"[9] in the Black child which affected "the motivation of the child to learn,"[10] then schools ought to be racially desegregated so Black children would have equal educational opportunity. Underlying the 1954 Supreme Court decision were two principles. The first was that no group in America should be treated any differently before the law and second that equal schooling would lead to an improvement of an individual's position in society. It is not clear from reading the decision whether the intent was also to improve the socio-economic position of the Black people as a group. But it would be easy to imply from the decision that once the Blacks had the same schooling as Whites the benefits and costs of being an American would be equally distributed, thus improving the group position of the Blacks. To the educational policy makers the Court was seen as in defining same schooling as meaning racially integrated schools[11] and quite clear in rejecting the "separate but equal" argument of the Plessy v. Ferguson decision of 1896.

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[7] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Actually the Court in the Brown case never mentioned school racial integration but rather pointed out that school racial segregation with the sanction of law is unlawful. Today there are several strategies being pursued by Black civil rights groups concerning school desegregation. The NAACP arguing that desegregation means racially integrated schools and CORE arguing that desegregation means Black community control of the schools. My thanks to Edward H. Brown of CORE for pointing this out to me.

Thus one could argue that the 1954 decision stated that racially segregated schools would be detrimental to any social group if the following three conditions were met: 1. That the segregated school created a sense of inferiority. 2. That this sense of inferiority was related to lower achievement in school. 3. That higher achievement in school leads to an improved position in American society. The Supreme Court using some social science research evidence relating to all three of these conditions concluded that, "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[12] Since these educational facilities were unequal the Court established the rule that racially segregated schools are bad per se. This Supreme Court rule assumed that the consequences of racial segregation were harmful and the rule did not allow this assumption to be questioned, so that all future litigation focused upon issues surrounding the degree of racial segregation and not upon the consequences of school racial segregation.

Presently there is some social science research evidence that the premises of the 1954 Supreme Court decision are no longer valid. Some of the current research regarding self-concept indicates that some Black students have a higher self-concept than White students and the highest Black self-concept found in all-Black segregated situations.[13] Although these findings are not conclusive they certainly question the Supreme Court premise that school segregation was creating psychological damage to Black students.

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[12]Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[13]Cf., Perry A. Zirkel, "Self-Concept and the 'Disadvantage' of Ethnic Group Membership and Mixture," Review of Educational Research 41 (1971):211-225.

This does not mean that the goal of improving the socio-economic status of the American Black people should be abandoned. But it does mean that what ought to be considered a denial of equal opportunity are those social practices that do not improve the socio-economic status of the American Black people. What I am arguing is that the criteria for deciding the racial composition of a public school ought to be whether or not the mixture would lead to any improvement of a social group's socio-economic position. Those educational practices which would retard socio-economic improvement should be considered illegal and those which lead to improvement should be considered legal. Thus the current educational policy assumption that racially segregated schools contribute to the worsening of the American Blacks' socio-economic position may not be valid.

The improvement of Black student performance on academic achievement tests should not be seen as an end in itself but rather as a means to achieving a general improvement of the socio-economic status of the American Black people. The hope was that improved academic performance would lead to an improved socio-economic status. Blacks as a result of doing better in school and going to school longer would obtain high paying jobs with high prestige. Yet Christopher Jencks and others have shown in their study, Inequality--A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, that "high school segregation had no effect on students' test scores and that elementary school segregation had a very small effect. . . that high school segregation probably has no effect on students' chances of earning educational credentials. . . . Taking all the evidence together, we can find no convincing evidence that racial desegregation affects students' eventual educational attainment one way

or the other."[14] This finding coupled with Jencks' basic conclusions that equalizing educational opportunity in terms of spending, social class and racial-ethnic composition," would do very little to make adults more equal"[15] in terms of status and income seems to indicate that current efforts to desegregate or integrate the schools may do little to improve the socio-economic position of the American Black people. Since it would now appear that improved socio-economic status is little related to improved academic performance, then attempts to justify school racial integration in terms of the cognitive skills improvement argument would be somewhat fraudulent as related to an expectation of improvement of Black socio-economic status.

Instead of focusing upon the academic performance of Blacks it would be more useful to focus upon other skills learned within the school that are more directly related to how a social group improves its socio-economic status. Socio-economic status is affected by the position that a social group occupies in the political system. The political system is the system which allocates values authoritatively for the entire society. As the social group's political influence increases it is more likely to receive more benefits in terms of increased status and economic benefits. The distribution of these benefits is affected by the operation and structure of the political system.

In order to gain influence in the American political system a social group needs either money or numbers. Since the Blacks do not have money

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[14] Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality--A Reassessment of the Effect of Family (New York: Basic, 1972), p. 155.

[15] Ibid., p. 255.

they need to organize themselves so that their numbers will have the greatest effect. Sit-ins, boycotts, demonstrations, and Black political groups are recent manifestations of Black organizational uses of their numbers. These activities have lead to job quota rules and preferential job hiring which have possibly had a greater effect upon Black socio-economic status than improvement of their cognitive skills. What I am suggesting, following the lead of the Black Power advocates,[16] is that at this stage in history, it may well be possible that racially segregated schools may improve Black socio-economic status more than racially integrated schools.

Barbara A. Sizemore in her analysis of Black separatism as it relates to full Black participation in American society, describes a five-stage power-inclusion model which explains how excluded minority groups such as the Jews, Italians, Irish, and Blacks could obtain or have obtained full participation in American society. Using the Sizemore power-inclusion model one can make the argument that racially or ethnically segregated schools are necessary when a group wants to achieve socio-economic parity and equity in a social system.

Briefly the Sizemore power-inclusion model has five stages that progress a group from separation to inclusion.

1. Separatist Stage

   The excluded group defines its identity. It is during this stage that social or group identities are carefully delineated

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[16] Cf., Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power--The Politics of Liberation (New York: Random, 1967), especially Chp. 2.

and religion is used to emphasize that 'we' or 'in' group feeling from which cohesion results.[17]

2. Nationalist Stage

The excluded group intensifies its cohesion by building a religio-cultural community of beliefs around its creation, history, and development. The history, religion, and philosophy of the nation from which the group comes dictates the rites, rituals, and ceremonies utilized in the proselytization of the old nationalism. . . . As group cohesion and solidarity increased, the development of negative identity occurred, resulting in the rejection of others.[18]

3. Capitalistic Stage

The cohesion developed in the Separatist Stage and magnified in the Nationalist Stage, added to the rejection of others created in the second phase, produces a need which can be developed into an economic base for the ethnic community founded on its active nationalism.[19]

4. Pluralistic Stage

The group utilizes its cohesion-rejection powers to form a political bloc on its economic base in order to thrust its interests into the foreground of the political arena. It is this stage which gives the illusion that integration is real.[20]

5. Egalitarian Stage

Sometimes called democratic, in which the interests of the group have as much chance of winning as those of other groups at this level of participation. This is utopian, yet in the American social order. For example, power is still held by white Anglo-Saxon Protestants but both Jews and Catholics are trying to get in.[21]

Sizemore points out that "the ultimate goal of inclusion for excluded or stigmatized groups depends upon self-respect and identity."[22] This

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[17]Barbara A. Sizemore, "Separatism: A Reality Approach to Inclusion?" in Robert L. Green (ed.), Racial Crisis in American Education (Chicago: Follett, 1969), p. 266.

[18]Ibid., pp. 266-267.

[19]Ibid., p. 268.

[20]Ibid., p. 269.

[21]Ibid., p. 270.

[22]Ibid., p. 270.

self-respect and identity is more likely to develop in racially segregated schools than in integrated schools. After giving examples that indicate that the students in Amish,[23] Catholic,[24] and Black Muslim[25] schools perform better in schools and in society, Sizemore concludes that, "being educated in the emotionally supportive setting of a school operated by one's religious or ethnic group may promote more self-acceptance and security and render the individual more capable of full social separation."[26]

While studying the relationship of a low socio-economic status elementary school's organizational climate to the political orientations and behavior of fifth-grade students, I found that the racial composition of the school[27] explained most of the different political orientations and behavior.[28]

I found that racial composition of low socio-economic status schools

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[23]Donald A. Erickson, "The Plain People and American Democracy," Commentary 45 (1968): 36-44.

[24]Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, The Education of American Catholics (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

[25]Clemmon E. Vontress, "The Black Muslim Schools," Phi Delta Kappan 47 (1965): 86-90.

[26]Barbara A. Sizemore, op. cit., p. 272.

[27]In the least squares deletion routine I used racial composition of the class which correlated .97 with racial composition of the school.

[28]Cf., Alfred S. Arkley, "A Study of the Relationship of the Factors of Organizational Climates of Low Socio-Economic Elementary Schools to the Political Orientations of 5th Grade Students." Final Report, Project No. O-E-064, Grant No. OEG-5-70-0024(509) Office of Education, HEW, Washington, D.C., June, 1972, Alfred S. Arkley, "The Relation of Organizational Climate Factors of Low Socio-Economic Status Elementary Schools to Political Orientations of Fifth-Grade Students," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972), and Alfred S. Arkley, "Political Orientations and Behavior of Fifth-Grade Students in Racially Segregated Low Socio-Economic Status Schools" paper presented at the 1973 meeting of the American Political Science Association, New Orleans, Louisiana.

is associated with participant political orientations and behavior for both Black and White students when the school is predominantly Black and with subject political orientations and behavior for both White and Black students when the school is predominantly White.

A participant views himself as an active member of the political system. This person does not accept all political decisions as legitimate and makes many attempts to influence the decision-makers. A subject views himself as a passive member of the political system. This person accepts most political decisions as legitimate and rarely attempts to influence the decision-makers.

Also I found that the Black students held more participant political orientations and behavior then the White students in the low socio-economic status elementary schools. At first this was surprising as I had expected to find Black students with subject-political orientations and White students with participant political orientations. Edward S. Greenberg in his 1968 study of Black and White students of grades three, five, seven, and nine had concluded very tentatively that, "black children seem to arrive at a 'subject' stance toward the political order, as opposed to a 'participant' stance,"[29] for White children. Yet he did not examine the effect of school racial composition since his sample only included four schools, two all-White and two all-Black. Yet examination of his data concerning conceptions of Democracy for fifth-graders indicates that Black lower class students are more participant and White lower class students are more subject in

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[29]Edward S. Greenberg, "Political Socialization to Support of the System: A Comparison of Black and White Children," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), p. 228.

their political orientations.[30]

My study examined fifth-graders' political orientations and behavior in eighteen inner-city low socio-economic status elementary schools containing 1,027 students in the inner-city area of two Michigan cities in Spring, 1970.[31] A summary of the socio-economic status characteristics of the eighteen schools is shown in Table 1.

The unit of analysis was the elementary school. I used two methods to assess the relationship of school racial composition to student political orientations and behavior. First, I used a least squares delete computer program, LSDEL,[32] to assess the contribution of nine independent school variables to the dependent variable, the school average response for fifth-grade students to a question from the Civic Education Questionnaire. The nine independent variables are: four organizational climate scores[33] for each school and five other variables which are means for all the fifth-grade classes in each school as shown in Table 2: mean classroom teacher sex, mean interviewer race, mean classroom racial[34] composition, mean

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[30] Ibid., p. 161.

[31] The sample of elementary schools was selected so as to contain a predominance of low socio-economic status students. Fourteen of the schools were receiving State of Michigan financial support for the education of culturally and economically deprived students. The formula for awarding financial aid favored schools with a predominance of Black students. Since I was also interested in examining schools that contained White students of low socio-economic status, I added four schools to the sample.

[32] Mary E. Rafter and William L. Ruble, "Stepwise Deletion of Variables from a Least Squares Equation," (East Lansing: Michigan State University, Agricultural Experiment Station, STAT Series Description No. 8, LSDEL, 1969).

[33] Cf., Alfred S. Arkley, op. cit., for a discussion of the meaning of the organizational climate factor scores and the relation to student political orientations and behavior.

[34] The mean classroom racial composition is an accurate indicator of the mean school racial composition, the correlation coefficient is .97.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

School	Percentage Students ADC[1]	Percentage Students Relief	Percentage Students Broken Homes	Percentage Non-White Students	Percentage Sub-Standard Housing	Density Students Per Square Mile	Percentage Non-White Teachers
1	16.1	2.4	29.9	97.4	35.1	1392	83.3
2	30.0	.8	50.2	99.1	11.8	2403	75.0
3	13.5	.8	17.1	96.8	18.4	1241	80.0
4	N.A.[2]	N.A.	28.9	63.3	N.A.	N.A.	63.6
5	21.2	.9	34.9	87.5	37.0	3044	46.2
6	16.6	.4	31.0	98.9	23.7	999	80.0
7	20.3	2.6	39.4	91.3	39.6	660	77.8
8	30.3	5.1	40.7	95.5	45.5	4525	23.5
9	22.5	3.9	31.5	6.7	47.5	3180	0

[1] Aid to Dependent Children

[2] Not Available

TABLE 1 (Continued)

School	Percentage Students ADC[1]	Percentage Students Relief	Percentage Students Broken Homes	Percentage Non-White Students	Percentage Sub-Standard Housing	Density Students Per Square Mile	Percentage Non-White Teachers
10	31.3	5.4	64.6	80.8	57.1	2275	31.3
11	21.2	3.7	30.5	38.7	57.0	6470	0
12	32.3	5.6	37.8	94.9	58.7	3397	38.5
13	29.8	5.1	40.2	96.8	55.9	3344	32.1
14	N.A.[2]	N.A.	13.7	7.0	N.A.	N.A.	10.0
15	35.9	5.9	52.9	99.2	48.0	8720	33.3
16	17.4	2.9	32.2	76.3	50.5	6742	20.8
17	N.A.	N.A.	20.5	2.5	N.A.	N.A.	0
18	N.A.	N.A.	14.3	1.1	N.A.	N.A.	15.8
Mean	24.2	3.3	33.9	68.5	41.8	3457	39.5

[1] Aid to Dependent Children

[2] Not Available

TABLE 2

School	Percentage Boys in Class	Percentage Non-White Students in Class	Mean SES Score	Percent Male 5th Grade Teachers	Percent Non-White Interviewer of Class	Mean 5th Grade Age
1	54.0	100.0	.6059	66.7	33.3	10.6
2	49.1	100.0	.5763	50.0	50.0	10.6
3	39.0	97.6	.5300	0	50.0	10.5
4	48.2	66.7	.5696	66.7	33.3	10.7
5	47.5	92.9	.4895	66.7	33.3	10.6
6	48.9	100.0	.4959	0	0	10.7
7	41.5	88.7	.5091	50.0	50.0	10.7
8	54.1	97.3	.4224	50.0	50.0	10.5
9	60.5	2.7	.4466	50.0	0	10.9
10	55.6	88.9	.4335	50.0	50.0	10.8
11	53.1	4.1	.3844	100.0	50.0	10.8
12	54.2	94.4	.4875	66.7	33.3	10.6
13	55.7	94.9	.4288	20.0	20.0	10.7
14	54.6	4.6	.5168	100.0	0	10.8
15	44.2	93.0	.4072	50.0	50.0	10.5
16	42.5	84.9	.5047	33.3	33.3	10.7
17	45.5	4.6	.5217	0	50.0	10.5
18	50.0	0	.5057	60.0	33.3	10.5
Mean	49.7	72.1	.4909	48.9	35.6	10.7

classroom sex, and mean classroom socio-economic status.[35] Using this method I could determine the relationship of the school racial composition to the average political orientations and behaviors of all the fifth-grade students.

Second, I grouped the schools into five racial composition categories as shown in Table 3. Then I compared the average response of Black students to White students on those political orientations and behaviors which my first method had indicated to be related to school racial composition.

I must note here that because my sample did not contain schools that were from 39 to 62 percent Black students, it is possible that the school combined Black-White, the school Black, and school White political orientations could be different. Since I used a linear regression equation the relationship between school racial composition and student political orientations and behavior appears to be linear. Yet it could be curvilinear when examining the schools in the middle racial composition range. The second analysis could reveal curvilinearity by an irregular or apparent non-patterned behavior of the Black or White scores as they move from all-Black to all-White schools. Of course linearity could also be revealed. This problem cannot be solved until schools in the middle racial composition range are examined.

The Civic Education Questionnaire, a shortened version of the one developed by Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, measured five sets of

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[35]This mean was calculated from the responses of each student to questions in the Civic Education Questionnaire concerning the occupations of the mother and father.

TABLE 3

Schools Categorized[1]

According to Racial Composition

Racial Composition	Schools	Percentage White Students (N is reported under each %)	Percentage Black Students	Percentage Other Students
1. All Black (AB) (100%)	1, 2, 6	0 (0)	100.0 (163)	0 (0)
2. Overwhelming Black (OB) (92.9 - 97.6%)	3, 5, 8 12, 13, 15	4.9 (19)	94.6 (368)	.5 (2)
3. Majority Black (MB) (66.7 - 88.9)	4, 7, 10, 16	18.3 (46)	80.6 (203)	1.1 (3)
4. Overwhelmingly White (OW) (95.3 - 97.3)	9, 11, 14, 17	83.0 (127)	3.9 (6)	13.1 (20)
5. All White (AW) (100%)	18	100.0 (70)	0 (0)	0 (0)

[1] The five categories will be referred to as AB, OB, MB, OW, AW.

questions relating to the student political self.[36] The first three sets measured student political orientations toward aspects of the American political system: political community, regime, and authorities. The fourth set measured student political knowledge, and the fifth student political behavior.

A. SET ONE - POLITICAL COMMUNITY

David Easton and Robert D. Hess defined the political community as, "the members of a society looked upon as a group of persons who seek to solve their problems in common through shared political structure."[37]

As the proportion of Black students increased in the school, the more negative the response to the question, "America is the best country in the world." Socio-economic status was not significantly related to the student responses. The correlation coefficient was .57 explaining 33% of the variance with a significance of .013.

First, I concluded that the racial composition of the school is related to the students' attachment to the political community. Racial segregation has different effects depending on the segregated race. Black segregation is associated with a lower feeling of attachment to the political community, while White segregation is associated with a higher feeling of political attachment.

When I separated the students into the five racial composition

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[36]Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values Toward Government and Citizenship during the Elementary School Years, Part I. Washington, D.C.: HEW, Office of Education, CRP-1078 (1965).

[37]David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science 6 (August, 1962), p. 233.

categories I found the following results:

Question 5. America is the Best Country

School Racial Proportion	Percentage responding Yes	
	Whites	Blacks
AB	--	58.2
OB	63.1	66.2
MB	60.8	54.6
OW	72.3	66.6
AW	69.9	--
Mean	69.0	61.3

When Black and White students are compared it would appear that White students' attachment is lower in predominantly Black schools while there seems to be no pattern for Black students.

Also each student was asked, "What makes you the most proud to be an American?" Comparing the White and Black students from schools of different racial compositions, Black students chose "Our Black Leaders" the most, 44.7%, in all-Black schools and the least, 33%, in overwhelmingly White and for White students the same pattern occurred, 8.5% in all-White schools to 21.0% in overwhelmingly Black schools.

This would seem to suggest for White students the possible effect of being in predominantly Black schools is to lower their attachment to the political community and at the same time increase respect for Black leaders. The possible effect of predominantly White schools upon Black students only seems to be a lowering of respect for Black leaders.

B. SET TWO - POLITICAL REGIME

According to Easton and Hess the political regime is:

> The slower changing formal and informal structures through which the decisions (of the political authorities) are taken and administered, together with the rules of the game or codes of behavior that legitimate the actions of political authorities and specify what is expected of citizens or subjects.[38]

A person with a participant orientation to the political regime would perceive political structure and the related norms as allowing much citizen involvement in the decision-making process. A participant would also perceive rules and laws as flexible and would believe that individuals can influence the decision-making process, i.e., would possess a sense of political efficacy. A subject orientation would be the opposite.

The greater the number of Black students the lower was the attachment to the political regime. As a school became increasingly Black, more students in those schools thought it was true that "people who break laws usually or always got away," with a partial correlation of .87 explaining 76% of the school variance with a significance of <.0005. They also believed that disobeying their parents was worse than disobeying the teacher or a policeman, with correlation coefficient of -.72 explaining 52% of the school variance with a significance of .001. As a school became increasingly White students perceive political regime attachment in the opposite direction.

When the proportion of White students increases, a subject orientation appears in a feeling that all laws are enforced and that disobedience of non-family authority figures is bad. The predominantly Black schools report a participant orientation in terms of a realization that all laws

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[38] Ibid., p. 233.

are not enforced and that thus the regime is apparently sensitive to some pressures that result in differing policy responses. However in the predominantly Black schools the students' feeling that the worst disobedience is failure to obey one's parents indicates a lack of attachment to the political regime. This lack of attachment plus the low regard for the efficiency of the legal system indicates possibly the presence of political cynicism, a kind of political orientation that has the potential for political activism.

When the law enforcement question was analyzed comparing Black and White students in schools of different racial compositions, the differences are striking as shown below:

Question 21. People Who Break Laws Usually or Always Got Away

School Racial Proportion	Percentage responding that Law Breaker Got Away with It. Whites	Blacks
AB	--	47.4
OB	26.4	40.8
MB	24.1	33.1
OW	11.1	16.7
AW	15.8	--
Mean	15.5	39.7

It would seem that the effect of racial composition is different for each race concerning their perception of law enforcement. White students become more participant as schools become increasingly Black, while Black students became more subject as schools become increasingly White.

The Black-White student responses regarding disobedience of their parents show no clear pattern regarding school racial composition except that 47.2% of the Black students perceive it as the worst disobedience while only 27.4% of the White do.

Using the multiple regression analysis none of the independent variables could explain the variances in the school political efficacy scores. Political efficacy (a feeling that the individual has the potential of influencing the people who rule) was measured with the following five questions to which the student could respond Yes, No or No opinion:

1. I don't think people in the government care much what people like my family think.
2. What happens in the government will happen no matter what the people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.
3. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about the ordinary people.
4. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.
5. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

The combined resporses of the five political efficacy questions was analyzed comparing Black and White Students in schools of different racial compositions as shown below (Yes = Low Efficacy, No = High Efficacy):

Political Efficacy

Percentage Responding Yes, No, No Opinion

School Racial Proportion	Whites			Blacks		
	Yes	No	No Opinion	Yes	No	No Opinion
AB	--	--	--	30.3	33.4	36.3
OB	36.9	36.7	26.4	33.5	33.1	33.4
MB	35.5	28.2	36.4	35.3	34.5	30.2
OW	31.4	28.1	40.5	43.1	32.4	24.5
AW	37.9	29.9	32.2	--	--	--
Mean	35.4	30.7	33.9	35.5	33.4	31.1

Overall Black students are slightly more political efficacious than White students. As the school racial composition changes Black students retain about the same proportion of high efficacious respondents, but as the schools become increasingly White, the Black no opinion respondents decrease and the low efficacious respondents increase. In White students there is not as clear a pattern, with only the White students in overwhelmingly Black schools showing a higher proportion of high efficacious respondents than the Black students.

C. SET THREE - POLITICAL AUTHORITIES

According to Easton and Hess the political authorities are "the occupants of those roles through which the day-to-day formulation and administration of binding decisions for a society are undertaken."[39] The political authorities represent the current government. The students were asked about the authorities seen as persons, like the President and the policeman, and about authorities seen as institutions, like the Supreme Court and the Government.

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[39] Ibid., p. 233.

1. Benevolence

Political authority benevolence was measured by asking the student to think of an authority figure, either a person or an institution, as it really is and how much it would help them if they really needed it. Class racial proportion explained student perceptions of policeman benevolence with a correlation coefficient of .61 explaining 37% of the variance significant at .007. As the number of White students increased in the school the perception of the policeman's benevolence increased.

Edward S. Greenberg found that low socio-economic status children see the policeman as the representative of the political systems while higher socio-economic status children see the President in that role. Greenberg found that the low socio-economic status child, being afraid of the political system, attributes the highest benevolence to the policeman, an authority who represents the political system.[40] Thus it would appear that the predominantly White schools in my study, rate the policeman high in benevolence because they contain students who fear this symbol of the American government: these students feel vulnerable. This vulnerability indicates a subject orientation toward politics. Those predominantly Black schools report a lower benevolence toward the policeman and these students are more participant in political orientation.

When I compared Black and White students in schools of different racial compositions, I found that White students became more participant by reporting lower policeman benevolence in the increasingly Black schools. However for Black students there was no clear pattern as shown below:

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[40]Edward S. Greenberg, op. cit., pp. 211-219.

Question 52. Policeman Benevolence

School Racial Composition	Percentage Perceiving the Policeman as Helping Them	
	Whites	Blacks
AB	--	53.9
OB	63.1	57.7
MB	78.1	65.9
OW	75.5	50.0
AW	84.2	--
Mean	77.4	59.1

2. Infallibility

Political authority infallibility was measured by asking the student to think of an authority figure either a person or an institution, as it really is and the possibility of it making a mistake.

I found that as schools became increasingly Black, students in the school saw the political authorities as making many mistakes and as the schools became increasingly White, students in the school saw the political authorities as making few mistakes. As the proportion of Black students in the school increased the feeling increased that the President, Supreme Court, policeman, and government made mistakes. The correlation coefficients and their significance levels are as follows:

1. President .63 at .005, 40% variance
2. Supreme Court .53 at .016, 28% variance
3. Policeman .75 at <.0005, 58% variance
4. Government .45 at .058, 20% variance

The Black students compared with the White students saw the President, Supreme Court, Government, and Policeman as making more mistakes. When I compared Black students with White students in schools of different

racial compositions, I found that White students increased their perception of authority figure mistakes as the students were located in increasingly Black schools. Black students decreased their perception of authority figure mistakes as the students were located in increasingly White schools. The effect of school racial composition was different for each race, with Black students responding more subject when being in predominantly White schools and White students responding more participant when being in predominantly Black schools.

3. Punitive Power

The punitive power of political authorities was measured by asking the students about the number of people that the authority could punish, from no one to anyone.

The racial proportion in the school explained best the student perceptions of the punitive power of the Supreme Court, policeman, and government. The correlation coefficients at the levels of significance are reported below:

1.	President	.10 at .745, 1% variance
2.	Policeman	.45 at .047, 20% variance
3.	Government	.49 at .037, 24% variance
4.	Supreme Court	.63 at .010, 40% variance

The greater the proportion of Black students in the school the lower the perception of political authority's punitive power.

Black students, compared with White students, perceived the President, Policeman, Government, and Supreme Court as having less punitive power. When I compared Black students with White students in schools of different racial composition I found that White students saw authority figures as having more punitive power when these students were located in a predominantly

White school than when in a predominantly Black school. Black students saw authority figures with the exception of the President as having more punitive power when these students were located in a predominantly White school than when in a predominantly Black school. Again the effect of school racial composition is different for each race, with White students responding more participant when being in predominantly Black schools and Black students responding more subject when being in predominantly White schools.

The student's perceptions of the role attributes of political authorities were related to the racial composition of the school with students in increasingly Black schools seeing political authorities as less benevolent and more fallible and punitively weaker than did those students in increasingly White schools. This indicates that the students in a majority Black environment are taking a participant stance toward the political system. The students in the predominantly White schools see the political authorities as higher in benevolence. This higher benevolence indicates that the students feel vulnerable as Easton and Hess point out.[41] This higher benevolence plus a higher rating of political authority on infallibility and punitive power indicates that the students are adopting a subject orientation to politics.

In comparing Black and White students in schools of different racial compositions it seems somewhat clear that regarding the benevolence, infallibility, and punitive power of political authorities that Black students report more subject political orientations as they are located

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[41] David Easton and Robert D. Hess, op. cit., p. 243.

in increasingly White schools. White students report more participant political orientations as they are located in increasingly Black schools.

D. SET FOUR - POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

The political knowledge questions measured the students' information concerning political parties. Those students with a participant orientation would see party politics as relevant and important. Those with a subject orientation would not see party politics as important or relevant. Perception of political party differences indicates that the person understands that politics is conflict among organized groups and that the current political situation is not settled. Those students perceiving considerable political party differences have participant orientations because political change is viewed as possible. Those students with subject political orientations perceive little political party differences because there is little possibility of political change.

As the proportion of Black students increased in the school, the students in the school perceived a greater difference between the Democrats and the Republicans than the students in predominantly White schools. The partial correlation coefficient was -.52 explaining 27% of the variance with a significance of .034.

Overall there was no difference in Black or White student perceptions of political party differences. Although White student knowledge of political parties was higher than Black student knowledge with 46.5% of Whites not knowing what the words "Democrat" or "Republican" meant compared to 52.4% for the Black students. When I compared Black and White students in schools of different racial compositions I could find no differences.

E. SET FIVE - POLITICAL BEHAVIORS

The political behavior of the students was measured by the two indices developed by Hess and Torney, the Index of Participation in Political Discussion and the Index of Political Activity.[42] Each index was composed of three questions from the Civic Education Questionnaire that could be answered "Yes" or "No." The questions composing the Index of Participation in Political Discussion are as follows:

1. I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems.
2. I have talked with my mother or father about a candidate.
3. I have talked with my friends about a candidate.

The questions composing the Index of Political Activity are as follows:

1. I have read about a candidate in newspapers or magazines.
2. I have worn a button for a candidate.
3. I have helped a candidate by doing things for him - such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them.

The greater the number of "Yes" responses on either index the more the student was considered to be a political discussant or a political activist. The student with a participant political orientation would engage in more political discussion and activity than the student with a subject orientation.

For each school I computed a mean from the individual student political discussion and activity scores. As the proportion of Black students increases in the school, there is more political activity among the students. The correlation coefficient was .57 explaining 32% of the variance significant at .014. There is a weak relationship, a correlation coefficient of .38 explaining 14% of the variance at .121 between the school racial proportion and political discussion. As the proportion of Black students increases in

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[42] Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, op. cit., Appendix C.

the school the amount of political discussion increases.

Thus I would conclude that the racial composition of the school in low socio-economic status elementary schools is related to student political behavior, with racial composition having different effects for different races. As a school becomes increasingly Black a greater amount of participant political behavior shows among the students and as the school becomes increasingly White a greater amount of subject political behavior shows.

Overall Black students are more politically active than White students, 35.8% of Black students report wearing campaign buttons compared to 27.8% of the White students. And 30.8% of Black students helped a political candidate while only 17.9% of the White students did. However 74.8% of White students read about a political candidate as compared to only 70.1% of the Black students.

The impact of school racial composition is different for each race as the responses show for the two political activity questions below:

Question 22. I have worn a button for a candidate.

School Racial Composition	Percentage Responding Yes	
	Whites	Blacks
AB	--	30.0
OB	36.8	39.9
MB	30.4	33.4
OW	28.3	16.6
AW	22.8	--
Mean	27.8	35.8

Question 23. I have helped a candidate by doing things for him - such as handing out buttons and papers with his name on them.

School Racial Composition	Percentage Responding Yes	
	Whites	Blacks
AB	--	26.9
OB	26.3	35.0
MB	21.7	26.1
OW	17.3	33.3
AW	14.2	--
Mean	17.9	30.8

It is clear from this data that White students respond more participant as these students are located in schools that are increasingly Black. The White student response to interest in reading or talking about current events, or other things going on in the country is similar, with 28.5% of the students in all-White schools responding Yes to this political interest question, the percentage increasing to 68.4% for the White students in an overwhelmingly Black school. However for Black students political interest shows no pattern when related to school racial composition. Black student political activity seems to be higher than White political activity and this seems to be independent of school racial composition.

CONCLUSION

The relationship of school racial composition to student political orientations and behavior were different depending first, upon the ratio of Black to White students and second, upon the race of the students. As elementary schools are increasingly Black, the school average political

orientations were reported as more non-supportive of the political system and political behavior that was more activist. White students in the predominantly Black schools appeared to adopt the political orientations and behaviors of the Black students. In those schools which were increasingly White, political orientations were more supportive and political behavior was less activist with Black students adopting the White political orientations and behavior. Thus it would seem that the minority students were adopting the political orientations and behaviors of the majority students.

As the proportion of Black students increased in the low socio-economic status elementary schools the feelings of attachment to the American political community decreased. The laws were perceived as ineffective, the policeman was not perceived as threatening, and authority figures and institutions were seen as fallible and lacking in punitive power. However, greater differences between the Democrats and Republicans were perceived by the students as the school became increasingly Black. This greater political awareness was indicated in their political behavior where they engaged in more political discussion and activity than the students in predominantly White low socio-economic status elementery schools.

As the elementary school became increasingly White students had higher attachment to the American political community, saw laws as effective, did perceive the policeman as threatening, and believed authority figures were infallible and possessed greater punitive power. As the elementary school racial composition for fifth-grade became more White, the students could not discern differences between the Democrats and Republicans. Political discussion and activity was lower than that in schools that were predominantly Black.

In comparing Black and White students in schools of different racial compositions it was clear that White students became more participant in Black schools and that Black students became more subject in White schools.

The impact of increasingly White schools upon Black students was to lower their respect for Black leaders while leaving unchanged their low attachment to the American political community. The laws were seen as effective and more Blacks reported low political efficacy. The policeman was seen as threatening at the same level in the schools of all racial proportions but authority figures and institutions were seen as more liable to mistakes and possessing more punitive power as the school became increasingly White. However Black student political activity and discussion seemed unrelated to school racial proportions.

The impact of increasingly Black schools upon White students was to raise their respect for Black leaders and to lower their attachment to the American political community. The laws were seen as more ineffective and political efficacy was the highest in the overwhelmingly Black schools. The policeman was seen as more threatening as the school became Blacker and authority figures and institutions were seen as less liable to mistakes and more lacking in punitive power. White students increased their political activity and interest as the school increased in Black students.

The policy implications of this research are startling and somewhat disorienting for the author who is deeply committed to racial justice. It may mean that Black segregated low socio-economic status elementary schools are positively beneficial for Black and White students in terms of political orientations and behaviors, if one views, as I do, participant political behavior as a desirable goal. Also it may mean that White

segregated low socio-economic status elementary schools are harmful to Black and White students when using the criteria of participant political behavior. The most important the policy implications of this research is that the political effect of low socio-economic status elementary school racial integration is to depoliticize the Black American people which unfortunately for many Americans is a desirable goal.